A Journal of Church and Society

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Social Progress

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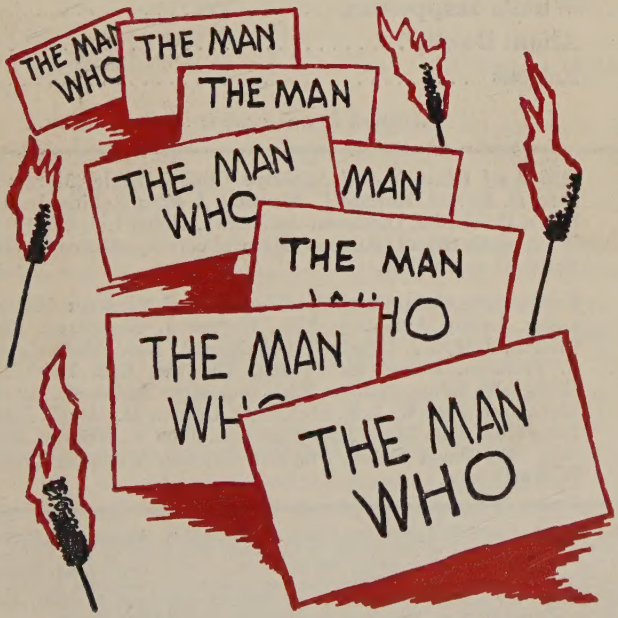

Kennedy and Nixon on Priority Issues

OCTOBER 1960

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Social Progress

Published by the Office of Church and Society of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

SOCIAL PROGRESS is proud to present in this issue two articles by the candidates for the presidency of the United States, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy.

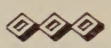
These articles were solicited by the Editor in letters to Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon following their nominations. They were asked to respond to six "Top Priority" issues presented in the June issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Previously these six priority issues had been used in testimony presented to the Platform Committee of both party conventions in Los Angeles and Chicago. In Los Angeles the testimony was presented by Mr. Kenneth McGilvray, a prominent Sacramento attorney, and by Dr. Carroll L. Shuster, Executive Secretary, Synod of California, and in Chicago by Dr. William Kirkland, Associate Professor of Christian Ethics at McCormick Theological Seminary. The testimony was prepared by the Office of Church and Society (formerly the Department of Social Education and Action) within the framework of the General Assembly pronouncements. Substance of that testimony is included in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS on pages 15 and 16.

The six "Top Priority" issues we believe must be carefully dealt with by any presidential candidate who wishes to be taken seriously are these: (1) Definition of National Purpose; (2) Exercise of Leadership; (3) Universal Disarmament; (4) Equal Treatment of

All Minorities; (5) Control of Inflation; and (6) Assisting the Newly Developing Nations.

Mr. Nixon's response consists of excerpts from his speeches and articles, carefully selected and tailored under the direction of Mr. Nixon so as to constitute a specific interpretation of the six issues. Mr. Kennedy's contribution is a much more general and discursive article written especially for this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.



Under the administrative reorganization of the Board of Christian Education the former Department of Social Education and Action has been assigned the new name of the *Office of Church and Society*. More will be said of this new name and new status in a later issue. Suffice it to say now that the staff of C and S is pleased and delighted with the potential new opportunities to serve the church in its witness to the social dimensions of the gospel.

Another change, this time in staff, must also be announced—in this instance, with mixed feelings on the part of all of us in the Church and Society office. Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr. (known to his many friends both in and out of the church as "Gay") has accepted a position on the faculty of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary in the field of Christian social ethics. He completed his assignment with this office on September 1 and takes up his new duties, beginning with work on his doctorate at Drew University, immediately. We believe that the loss to the Office of Church and Society occasioned by Dr. Wilmore's leaving is the gain of the church as a whole, and we say to him, Godspeed, in his new responsibility.

Months after sit-ins began in lunch counters, libraries, and other places of public accommodation, it now looks as though judgment and mercy come at last to the household of God. Indications are that a sustained effort on the part of Negro student Christians to worship in "the white man's church" (which is really Christ's church) will mount up during the coming months.

If "your" church is "chosen," what will your ushers and congregation do? If you are among those kneeling-in, how will you do it? We can think of no better words of guidance than some of those used in an editorial in the August 24 issue of *The Christian Century:*

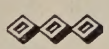
"The stigma of racial segregation will not be removed until it disappears from white Christian churches where it began. . . . If white Christians are suspicious, resentful, and defiant when Negroes appear at their churches, if even in the house of God they fail to 'practice hospitality,' the guilt is

theirs. But Negro Christians have, nevertheless, a Christian duty; and that requires that to the best of their ability they give their white brothers no occasion for offense. . . . A constant rather than sporadic attendance of Negroes at white churches would do more to compel Christians of our land to re-examine the ground and purpose of their faith and to revive their calcified churches than any other single social factor. . . .

"The Negro should go to the white church because he has heard the summoning of God and goes to hear what God will say to *him.* He should go because as a part of Christ's body he cannot endure separation from any part of that body. He should go because he wills under God's leading to be reconciled to his brother and knows no better place to begin than in the church. . . .

"So long as visitors to a Christian church conduct themselves with quietness and dignity it is not the privilege of any representative of the church to analyze the motives of communicants or to refuse them admission. The church belongs to Christ, not to the ushers, deacons, or trustees. Christ knows the hearts of men who come to his church; he will judge and will recompense them according to that judgment. Whatever the motives of the Negro visitors who come to white churches, the usher (and, we would add, the congregation and the minister) has only one duty and one proper course of action: to welcome the visitors and see to it that they are comfortably seated. If the Negro is engaged in unchristian agitation, cordial white Christians may be the instrument through which God's grace may work a converting power upon his life. If his enterprise is Christian, the absence of slight or rebuff will be pleasing to God whose child has been accepted. . . .

"In a word, the same motives should move both the Negro visitor and the white host: a confession of sin, a need for forgiveness, a commitment of the whole life to God's full will. . . . For a long time to come the presence of Negroes and whites in the same church will not be (regarded as) normal, but the abnormality can be turned to the glory of God and to the good of all his children."



In the July issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS we unhappily suggested that a well-known American churchman and the author of a useful new book had come to the end of his days on earth. We refer to our review of *The High Tower of Refuge,* and to its very-much-alive author, Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler. We apologize to Dr. Chandler and to our readers for what Mark Twain called in a similar case our gross exaggeration of his demise.

Perhaps we can begin to make amends by urging again the importance of Dr. Chandler's book about refugees throughout the world. We would repeat that this is "must" reading for churchmen throughout the country.

Dr. Chandler this fall begins his new work with the Church Federation of Greater Chicago.

—The Staff

SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

Writes on

A NEW MISSION FOR AMERICA

SINCE the first century, Christian missionaries have roamed the world to carry out the idea of God acting in history for the salvation of mankind. Down through the generations, their inspiration and motivation has been the Great Commission of the risen Lord: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations . . ."

National Purpose

Today, as we face an uncertain and sometimes dubious-seeming future, doubting and questioning our national goals, we must attempt to discover and revive the same kind of evangelism in the cause of freedom —the evangelism that first brought those seeking freedom to our shores; that helped write the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and our Bill of Rights.

Both for individuals and nations, there is nothing more natural than to stop occasionally amidst the headlong rush of events, and ask: "Why am I here? Toward what end must I strive?" This, I think, is one reason why some of us have recently been asking ourselves about our national purpose. Yet there is also something disturbing in this, for the very asking of the question may indicate we are not so certain as perhaps we once were about our direction and the ultimate validity of those democratic truths which the Founding Fathers found to be "self-evident."

Fundamentally, in my view, the American purpose remains what it has been since the nation's beginning: to demonstrate that an organization of men and societies on the basis of human freedom is not an absurdity, but an enriching, ennobling, practical achievement; that a system of freedom under law can produce both material abundance and moral and spiritual growth.

We may not always have been aware of the implications of such a

(*Continued on page 9*)

VICE-PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON

Responds to

TOP PRIORITY ISSUES—1960

National Purpose

The breadth of our nation's purpose continues to grow. It broadens as our country matures and our capabilities expand. But from the American Revolution to today, and on into the future, our purpose continues to give us direction, and to offer means of measuring our achievement.

As I see it, our national purpose is best expressed in the goals which the Preamble of our Constitution sets out. Today we continue to follow these propositions:

"To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, secure the blessing of liberty for ourselves and our posterity."

The Exercise of Leadership

The challenges we face demand the best leadership our country can provide. It must be leadership based on experience in the past and on action in the present which will bring achievement in the future. It must be leadership grounded in the principles of freedom and of respect for the individual. And it must be leadership which can and will meet the issues at home and the dangers abroad, and which will act on policy proposals that are in keeping with our times and our tenets.

Universal Disarmament

The problem of the spread of atomic weapons and the continuing danger of their use, as well as of the use of conventional weapons, are matters with which the Eisenhower Administration has been continuously concerned. I have supported the efforts of the President as he attempted continuously to develop with the Soviet Union—and with Great Britain—a program through which we could find some method of

controlling atomic tests. This will be a first step toward eventual control of the whole problem of nuclear armaments. But unless we are able to make progress in that area, arms control is not a real possibility.

Equal Treatment of All Minorities

It is the responsibility of every American to do everything that he can to make this country a proud example of freedom and the recognition of human dignity. Much progress is being made in both the North and the South of this country in the field of human rights. I am proud of our record. But much remains to be done. And it cannot be accomplished through laws alone. The people within the states must have the desire and the will to keep the law.

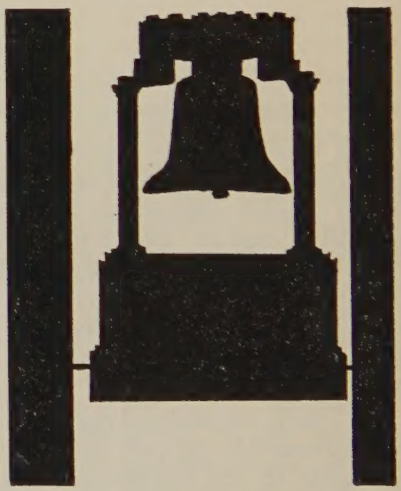
Control of Inflation

Inflation robs the aged of their savings. It is an automatic pay cut for those on fixed salaries. It is a tax on life insurance policies. And it is a danger to the sound operation of government.

Even as we try to stimulate economic activity, we must also try to curb inflation. Government must try to do this, but it must have the help of business and of organized labor. For in order to maintain high production and in order to have real economic growth, it is necessary to have a sound fiscal base.

Assisting Newly Developing Countries

We must recognize that we live in a changing world. In Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, the people are determined to have a better way of life. We must provide the aid, and beyond that the assistance and the advice, which will enable the peoples of the world to have progress which they want and should have, and to have it with and through freedom.



(Continued from page 6)

demonstration. Certainly in recent years many of us have seemed to take our freedom more or less for granted, concentrating instead on the satisfaction of personal needs and wants. Yet it is clear to any thinking person that for most of the twentieth century and to a certain extent ever since our national inception, the world has been watching and imitating us. From the automobile assembly line, to Coca-Cola, to the democratic processes themselves, our methods of organizing and producing, our ways of thinking and living, have stimulated the imagination or envy of one nation after another.

We may feel today as if we are being crowded and threatened by the awakening of the former slumbering giants of Africa and Asia. Yet it is we ourselves who have played a vitally important role in setting off the alarm clock.

Thus it becomes clear that from a world view we have in a sense been a reluctant agent on a mission not only to establish a society of abundance for ourselves but also to show other nations that it could be done, and how it could be done.

And if this was our initial mission, it has been accomplished. The whole world now marches in the shadow of our technological advance—and Russia has moved ahead to begin to cast its own long shadow. Furthermore, through two great World Wars and nearly two hundred years of continuous existence, we have proved that a free system such as ours can be sufficiently strong and flexible to meet the challenge of any other system successfully.

But how successful have we been in bringing the message of freedom to others and in convincing them of the rightness of our policies? We are a fine example of achievement, but how do we stack up in providing creative leadership for the achievement of others?

The Contagion of Freedom

We can, of course, point to the record. Our role in two World Wars, the Marshall Plan, Point Four, our support of the establishment of the United Nations, and other international actions would seem to justify the assumption that we have more than lived up to our world responsibilities. Yet when the orators are silent and paeans have been sung, what can we say in our hearts? Can we truthfully say we have done our uttermost? Can we say that individually or as a nation we have taken up the full burden of our responsibility for history?

Or rather must we admit that over the past eight years we have slipped ever deeper into the quagmire of individual selfishness, governmental rigidity, and national indifference?

Unfortunately, recent developments point to the latter conclusion. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, looking back over recent history just prior to World War II, "Each year has brought its full crop of disaster." From the Suez crisis and revolution in Hungary, to the orbiting of the Sputnik, the U-2 fiasco, and the

Cuban defiance, we have witnessed a constant erosion of our position and prestige. An even deeper and more frightening confirmation of our plight can be found in our loss of the ideological initiative.

The most powerful single force in the world today is neither communism nor capitalism, neither the H-bomb nor the guided missile—it is man's eternal desire to be free and independent. And it is this force, wearing the mantle of nationalism, that is currently drawing the non-communist peoples of Asia and Africa into the full, bright light of the twentieth century.

We should be the champions of this force. It is the wellspring of our own heritage and traditions. Yet in the minds of the uncommitted millions, we are somehow not identified with it. Instead, we are made to appear as the defenders of the *status quo*, while the Communists portray themselves as the vanguard of a better, brighter, and braver order of life.

A New Mission

Therefore, I would suggest it is time for a new mission for America. It is time for us to stop reacting to history—fretfully waiting for each successive move in the Communist chess game—and to start making history ourselves with positive and courageous programs. Further, and perhaps more important, it is time to relinquish self-interest as a primary motivating force and start dedicating ourselves to the service of the world in freedom even as the missionary dedicates himself to the salvation of mankind through God.

It has been asserted that we Americans have been so surfeited with affluence that we can barely arise from our couches of comfort; that our moral cynicism and political indifference has reached the proportion of a national disease. And perhaps this is at least partly true. But there is one important factor in this situation that the social "viewers with alarm" have overlooked—and that is that most of the appeals to us have been appeals to fear. And while fear can be a strong motivating force for a time, it wears thin over the years. Even at its most intense, it is not the force to inspire a man or mend or build a world.

Let us, therefore, at least give America the opportunity for greatness by appealing to the nobler rather than the baser instincts of its citizens. Let us finally tap that hidden resource that all men possess —the strength that comes from sacrifice and service for others. In reviewing the scope of our new mission, let us first consider international economic development. Almost immediately our attitudes are transformed, and we have to recognize that this is not a nagging responsibility to be faced each year in the context of giveaways and taxes—but a vast international effort, an enterprise of positive association, which lies close to the heart of our relations with the entire free world and which requires active American leadership.

Aid to Underdeveloped Nations

With this recognition, the way is clear for action, with the participation of other free nations, in establishing a substantial, long-term program of productive loans to underdeveloped areas from a fully

capitalized central fund, capable of working with either independent nations or regional groupings.

Such a program would scrupulously avoid the temptation to imitate the Communists by promising automatic remedies of quick cures for economic distress. By the same token, it would not be used as an economic club to beat uncommitted nations into line with the West. Rather, assistance would be given where it would do the most good and in accordance with the highest Christian principles.

An assistance program of this sort would be particularly important to India, which has more than 35 per cent of all the underdeveloped people in the world within its borders. India has excellent planning, responsible leadership, democratic government. Yet through the indifference of the Administration and lack of Congressional support, the Development Loan Fund has never been expanded sufficiently to take care of the pressing needs of this huge nation.

This is a serious situation because today the peoples of Asia are comparing democratic India with Communist China to see which holds the greater promise as a system to live under. Over the past decade, China has surged far ahead of India economically. If this trend continues, it will mean only one thing: the decisive struggle in the cold war over the next ten years could be lost.

In addition to easy-term loans, we should provide greater technical, agricultural, and medical assistance, increased educational opportunities for foreign students in American universities, and finally a program for making our tremendous stores of surplus food available to the millions who yearly face the gaunt specter of starvation. Above all, however, we should develop plans and policies to enable us to move quickly, economically or diplomatically, in coming to the aid of a nation in distress. We should, in effect, become minutemen of the world, ready to rise to a crisis on the shortest notice.

Peace, Disarmament, Outer Space

Of course, the ultimate objective of our new mission would be to secure lasting peace for the world, so that the huge share of mankind's

productivity which now goes into armaments could be diverted to the promotion of human welfare.

In thinking about this problem of achieving peace and reducing international tensions, many are inclined to pessimism, if not a sense of downright futility. Such an attitude may seem to be justified, but it is in part due again to our historic need for a quick answer to public problems so

we can get back to the vital business of satisfying our private desires.

The plain fact is that a real peace will be achieved not by slogan, but by persistent and continuing effort, based not on the shifting sands of expedient diplomacy, but rather springing from an abiding faith that a world united in freedom and equality of opportunity can in fact be built.

With the support of this faith, our course of action for the time being should be to seek to develop responsible proposals that will help to break the deadlock on disarmament. Such proposals should include means for ending nuclear tests under workable safeguards, cutting back nuclear weapons, reducing conventional forces, and preserving outer space for peaceful purposes.

Despite the other obvious factors, much of the problem of disarmament is technological. No monitoring and inspection system now exists which at the same time can satisfy both the Soviet desires for privacy and our desire for guarantees. Yet it is quite possible that such a system can be developed. To this end, we must devote planning and organization through an agency, which could research and investigate all disarmament questions.

Yet while the Soviet missiles are pointed at us—only minutes away—we must build a better shield for peace. For we are now beginning to enter the period where, unless we take drastic action, the Russians will have a clear missile advantage. Consequently, we must increase the strength and reduce the vulnerability of our retaliation system so that it could not possibly be knocked out by the first Soviet blow. We must also re-examine and reconstitute our alliances, particularly the North Atlantic Community, so that we can work in greater harmony from a base of common policies.

Finally, we must mobilize our historic pioneering spirit to match the Russians in exploring that last great physical frontier to challenge and stimulate the imagination of man—outer space. "The only reason we are not in the lead now," Dr. Wernher von Braun said earlier this year, "is that there was no national decision to undertake a large-scale space program a few years back."

Employment, Housing, Urbanization

In moving forward on the international scene, we must also move forward at home—for the line dividing domestic and foreign affairs is as a line drawn in water. All that happens to us here at home has a direct and intimate bearing on what we can or must do abroad. All that happens to us abroad has a direct and intimate bearing on what we can or must do at home. As Henry L. Stimson wrote in 1947: "No private program and no public policy, in any section of our national life, can escape from the compelling fact that if it is not framed with reference to the world, it is framed with perfect futility."

And what do we find at home? We find that here, in the richest nation on earth, we can provide neither enough jobs for all the people who want to work, enough housing for all those who want homes, enough transportation for those who must travel, enough education so that all those

who desire it can reach their full potential for self-development, nor sufficient medical care to insure that no one in this land shall have to suffer illness needlessly.

At this writing, more than four million Americans are unemployed (better than 5 per cent of the entire work force); more than forty million Americans live in substandard housing; and our large cities, choked by suburban growth, smothered by air pollution, and harassed by breakdowns in all their essential community services, have become the great unspoken, overlooked, underplayed problem of our time.

Clearly, corrective action must be taken. We have only to think of the billions of dollars our unemployed could contribute to the gross national product—if they were at work—to realize that public and private welfare are inseparable. For the long pull, and with the increasing weight of international obligations, we can no more stand private affluence and public poverty than we could stand to exist half slave and half free.

Civil Rights, Economic Growth

In every area of American life, from the application of automation to the development of our natural resources to improvement of civil rights, we must everlastingly endeavor to practice what we preach—to demonstrate the progress of affluence toward an ever-enlarging human purpose.

These are dynamic and challenging programs. They will require increased effort and leadership and sacrifice on the part of every American. But these programs are essential to our survival as a nation, and we cannot afford to have them fail. Nor are such programs beyond the capacity of the richest nation in the history of the world. During the past eight years restrictive economic policies coupled with a lack of faith in America have held back the growth of our economy until today, in 1960, we are the slowest-growing industrial nation in the world. In 1961 we must reverse these disastrous policies and move to stimulate our economy to these new heights of production and abundance which will provide America with the resources necessary to meet its vital public needs at home and its vast commitments abroad.

Beyond these considerations, the dynamic approach I have outlined will require dynamic and far-seeing leadership on the part of the only individual who can truly provide it: the President of the United States. The reach and influence of this great office, once limited by the Atlantic and Pacific boundaries, now extends from embattled Berlin to the shores of China. There is no color, race, or creed that does not in some way fall under its responsibility or depend on its decisions. As the British cartoonist David Law has said of every free world citizen: "Fate has made us all Honorary Americans."

Private Interests, Public Policy

No matter what his background, the man who holds the office of President of the United States cannot think about it in *any* restricted sense. Because once he is in it, he is no longer beholden to himself or his personal beliefs or idiosyncrasies, but to the world.

However, the President cannot do

the job alone. Altruism and dedication is required on the part of all Americans. There must be a new spirit and a new caring. We must get outside of ourselves and our private interests and look toward the larger contributions we can make to our fellow man. Otherwise, as surely as day follows night, we will lose our freedoms and be consigned to join that mournful parade of civilizations—each great and glorious in its time—which have passed into dust. As Edith Hamilton wrote of one of these civilizations: "When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to the state, but the state to give to them, when the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again."

But the practice of freedom should not be restricted to our borders alone. As Lincoln said, the Declaration of Independence "gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world . . . that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."

America's new mission should be to bend every nerve and fiber to provide that chance, for though the task may seem difficult or impossible now, it may be even more difficult later on. In the words of Jeremiah: "If you have raced with men on foot, and they have wearied you, how will you compete with horses? And if in a safe land you fall down, how will you do in the jungle of the Jordan?"

New Frontiers

When I accepted the nomination for President, I pointed out that we stand today on the edge of a new frontier—a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils. Actually, we are on the edge of many frontiers of human knowledge and achievement —and each is expanding, moving away from us as the ripples from a stone dropped into a giant pool.

We must move with these frontiers. As a tiny speck in an expanding universe which may contain one hundred million planets similar to ours, we must enhance, preserve, and expand our own spark of life which even now is reaching with its first groping fingers into the dim vastness of space.

Let us not falter in our advance. Let us not leave this a cold and burned-out lifeless planet. Let us rather spread the gospel of freedom, brotherhood, and abundance everywhere. And let us press on with the vital work of the world so that it can at least be said of us what an English poet once said in tribute to a great man: "Borne of the sun, [we] traveled a little way toward the Sun and left the vivid air signed with [our] honor."

To the Resolutions Committees of the National Conventions

THIS statement is presented in behalf of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America through its Office of Church and Society.

The statement is based on the social pronouncements of our church's General Assembly, which is the highest judicatory of the church. It meets in annual session for seven days in the month of May, and is composed of approximately 1,000 delegated commissioners, half of whom are ministers and half lay persons—men and women. The denomination has 10,000 churches located in all of the fifty states, and a total membership of 3,200,000.

The social pronouncements are evolved by means of a carefully prescribed committee process that permits a maximum of study and discussion by a large number of persons representing a wide variety of points of view. Draft pronouncements are debated at length by the General Assembly in plenary session and upon adoption become the official position of our denomination. They do not necessarily commit every member of our church to support them since we believe that "God alone is Lord of the conscience." However, they do commit our church as a corporate entity to their support.

We believe that for the next four years and for the foreseeable future our nation will be faced with unprecedented needs and opportunities, and that the political parties have a vital role to play in facing the challenge of the future. We would hope that your platform would reflect a serious wrestling with at least the following great issues:

1. The definition of our ***national purpose*** and the coalescing of an American consensus to pursue that purpose;

2. The seizing of ***initiative*** in bold, creative, and responsible programs of foreign and domestic policy;

3. Patient and unrelenting efforts to achieve ***disarmament*** with adequate inspection and control;

4. The achieving of a society in which all ***minorities are accorded equal treatment and opportunity;***

5. The ***control of inflation*** within a continually expanding economy;

6. The ***assisting of the newly developing countries*** of the world without interference in the formation of their own indigenous institutions.

Our church will continue to help America face these needs and opportunities by engaging in responsible programs of study and action

within our own constituency to increase understanding of them and to support public policies that seem commensurate with the challenge they present.

Your party, we believe, can play the vital role of proposing and supporting public policies that, at all levels of government, put the public good above partisan advantage and geographical or economic vested interest. The churches of our country, we are confident, will do all in their power to assist in the creation and implementation of such policies.

More specifically, we would urge the National Convention to adopt a platform that:

1. In International Relations

a. Affirms the determination to continue with unrelenting patience the hard task of negotiating for disarmament with adequate international inspection and control;

b. Seeks to commit our nation to broaden and increase its programs of technical assistance and economic aid with assurances of long-range appropriations so that these programs may have continuity;

c. Expresses full participation in, and support of, the United Nations and its specialized agencies ministering to human need and the development of the resources of the underdeveloped countries;

d. Seeks to maintain our military strength while at the same time recognizing the increasing importance of economic and political factors in the cold war and perceiving the inadequacy of responses to cold war developments in purely military terms;

e. Supports compulsory jurisdiction by the World Court in international legal disputes without qualifications that in effect nullify the effectiveness of the Court.

2. In Civil Rights

a. Recognizes the crucial leadership role played by the Chief Executive and the Federal agencies in declaring racial discrimination to be contrary to public policy. In this regard, tax money collected from *all* the people should not be used to perpetuate patterns of discrimination in programs of public and publicly assisted housing; in Government contracts, in programs, such as state employment services, financed in whole or in part by Federal loans or grants; in contracts and subcontracts let by the states under the Federal Highway Act of 1956; and in other forms of Federal subsidies;

b. Seeks by legislation to strengthen the effectiveness of the United States Civil Rights Commission, especially in securing and protecting the voting rights of Negro Americans and others who may be disfranchised because of race or ethnic origin.

3. In Public Education

Supports the adoption of legislation implementing Federal aid to tax-supported public schools on condition that the funds be: (*a*) allocated according to a formula that moves toward full educational opportunity in the public elementary and secondary schools in both urban and rural districts, (*b*) safeguarded against the imposition of Federal control in matters of educational policy and program, and (*c*) spent with a minimum of administrative costs.

To the Resolutions Committees of the National Conventions

Armaments and International Institutions

The need for an adequate national defense is recognized by the National Council of Churches, even though we hold, with many civilian and military leaders, that military might provides no sufficient ultimate security.

Today the dilemma of an adequate total defense is sharpened by the existence of ultimate weapons, the use of which would threaten victim and aggressor alike with mutual homicide.

What, then, are the alternatives to homicide by means of war or to an undesirable appeasement or surrender? The quest for enforceable disarmament clearly is an important part of the answer.

No nation will voluntarily agree to weaken its relative strength, if it lacks confidence in existing processes for security and for orderly change. General disarmament can be achieved only in relation to a relatively stable international order. This, in turn, depends upon strengthening institutions to build the foundations of peace and more effective use of processes to keep the peace and assure justice.

The United Nations and other international institutions cannot be wished into maturity. They grow only with use, encouragement, and support. We urge you to pledge the United States to respect the competence of the International Court of Justice, without self-appointed powers of reservation. Thus by our own example, we would encourage all other nations to strengthen the growing legal foundations of world order and peace.

World Economic and Social Development

We also urge you to give special support to the further development of foreign policies of the United States which will reflect our interest in man's welfare in other countries as well as in our own. We believe that constructive policies of international aid and trade are essential to the creation of conditions of peace with justice and freedom.

The arithmetic of world poverty can be simply expressed: more than half of mankind are undernourished all their lives, cannot expect to live beyond age forty, and cannot read or write. Increase of population in many places thwarts efforts to raise living standards even to bare subsistence levels. When Governments request information and scientific aid for responsible parenthood, we believe our Government should comply with such requests.

Immigration and Refugee Policies and Practices

The Statute of Liberty, standing at one of our important gateways, symbolizes what immigration to America has meant to the families of many of us and to the moral, spiritual, economic, and cultural growth of this nation, under God.

The adoption by Congress of more enlightened permanent immigration and naturalization laws would add immeasurably to the moral stature of the United States. We believe serious consideration should be given to the pooling or adjusting of unused quotas in order to reunite families, to provide skills needed by our country, and to offer asylum to persecuted victims of totalitarian regimes. We believe that Congress should complete the process of amending immigration and naturalization laws so that all discriminatory provisions based upon consideration of color or race would be removed.

These immigration and refugee matters are of urgent interest to the National Council of Churches. Church World Service, our operating unit in this field, has achieved a dramatically effective record of assistance in immigration and refugee work. On the basis of a vast experience, deep religious concern, moral principles, and continuing desperate needs, we believe that the next President of the United States should establish a National Commission to study population pressures, both internal and external to the United States, and to make appropriate recommendations for a more effective permanent immigration policy that is commensurate with our national ideals and international long-term interests.

Religious and Civil Liberties

Religious liberty and, indeed, religious faith are basic both historically and philosophically to *all* our liberties. We believe that religious and civil liberties are interdependent and therefore indivisible.

It is in this spirit that we call upon you to make clear that your party rejects every act, including those by any unit or branch of Government, which unjustifiably attacks or otherwise encroaches upon the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, whether these acts be abuses in investigative procedures, publication in official documents by Government agencies of falsehoods, conjectures, and unproven charges or direct or indirect indoctrination with respect to belief.

Civil Rights

The National Council of Churches and most of the member communions have urged their member congregations to oppose any local law or community practice which segregates or discriminates on the basis of race, color, or national origin, in the churches as well as in the schools and other public gathering places. They have carried forward active programs aimed at the elimination of racial segregation both in the churches and in the community.

We urge you to make clear your readiness to take steps to guarantee forthright action to facilitate the implementation of the United States Supreme Court's decision regarding the desegregation of public schools, in such a way as to enable local com-

munities to take responsible and effective action in the desegregation of their public schools.

We are concerned that equal rights for all of our citizens of whatever race or national origin be increasingly achieved in Federal housing legislation and programs, and in the employment and creative use of all the talents of all our citizens.

We urge you also to emphasize that all citizens should have the opportunity to exercise the right to vote, regardless of race or color, through vigorous enforcement of the existing statutes and through enactment of additional legislation should experience with the existing laws indicate that this is necessary.

Migratory Farm Laborers and Child Workers in Agriculture

A million migratory farm workers and their families, citizens of our own land, do not enjoy the human rights and privileges which the General Assembly of the United Nations has agreed should be a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

For forty years the churches have co-operated in providing a program of Christian service in thousands of migrant camps across the country, and in seeking to improve working and living conditions for migratory farm workers.

It lies within the competence of the Government to bring about: termination, on a gradual basis, of the Mexican Agricultural Worker Importation Program; a minimum wage floor under the excessively low wage rates; Federal funds to supplement state programs of education for migrant children and adults; extension to child workers in agriculture the same protections now provided for child workers in industry; housing legislation for the construction of more adequate housing for migrant labor; and the regulation of the methods of transportation of workers to ensure their safety and humane treatment.

Excerpts from testimony presented to the platform committees of the Democratic and Republican Conventions.

PLATFORMS and ISSUES

The platform of a political party represents a verbal effort to accommodate the many and diverse forces within that party and to bring them together into a statement that the party leaders can live with in the eyes of their constituents. The platform suggests the general philosophy of the party, its sense of direction, and some specific proposals which may or may not be enacted into legislation or policy. The importance of the platform should be neither overestimated as a mandate for action nor underestimated as irrelevant.

Arranged in parallel columns below are excerpts from the Republican and Democratic platforms, chosen by the Editor as having varying degrees of relevance to the six "Top Priority" issues dealt with earlier in the articles by the presidential candidates.

☒ The Definition of National Purpose

Democratic

It is our continuing responsibility to provide an effective instrument of political action for every American who seeks to strengthen the rights of man everywhere here in America, and everywhere in our twentieth-century world.

The common danger of mankind is war and the threat of war. Today, three billion human beings live in fear that some rash act or blunder may plunge us all into a nuclear holocaust which will leave only

Republican

The ultimate objective of our free society and of an ever-growing economy is to enable the individual to pursue a life of dignity and to develop his own capacities to his maximum potential.

Government's primary role is to help provide the environment within which the individual can seek his own goals. In some areas this requires Federal action to supplement individual, local, and state initiative. The Republican Party has acted

ruined cities, blasted homes, and a poisoned earth and sky.

Our objective, however, is not the right to coexist in armed camps on the same planet with totalitarian ideologies; it is the creation of an enduring peace in which the universal values of human dignity, truth, and justice under law are finally secured for all men everywhere on earth. . . .

On its values and goals the quality of American life depends. Here above all, our national interest and our devotion to the Rights of Man coincide.

Democratic administrations under Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman led the way in pressing for economic justice for all Americans.

But man does not live by bread alone. A new Democratic administration, like its predecessors, will once again look beyond material goals to the spiritual meaning of American society.

We have drifted into a national mood that accepts payola and quiz scandals, tax evasion and false expense accounts, soaring crime rates, influence-peddling in high Government circles, and the exploitation of sadistic violence as popular entertainment.

For eight long critical years our present national leadership has made no effective effort to reverse this mood.

The new Democratic administration will help create a sense of national purpose and higher standards of public behavior.

and will act decisively, compassionately, and with deep human understanding in approaching such problems as those of the aged, the infirm, the mentally ill, and the needy. . . .

There are many things a free government cannot do for its people as well as they can do for themselves. . . .

There are some things no government should promise or attempt to do. The functions of government are so great as to bear no needless enlargement. We limit our proposals and our pledges to those areas for which the government of a great republic can reasonably be made responsible. To the best of our ability we have avoided advocating measures that would go against the grain of a free people. . . .

We believe that we see, so far as men can see through the obscurity of time and trouble, the prudent course for the nation in its hour of trial. The Soviet Union has created another of the new situations of peril which has been the Communist record from the beginning and will continue to be until our strategy for victory has succeeded. The speed of technological change makes it imperative that we measure the new situations by their special requirements and accelerate as appropriate our efforts in every direction, economic and military and political, to deal with them. . . .

We offer toil and sweat to ward off blood and tears. We advocate an immovable resistance against every Communist aggression. We argue for a military might commensurate with our universal tasks. We end by declaring our faith in the republic and in its people, and in the deathless principles of right from which it draws its moral force.

☒ The Exercise of Leadership in Positive Policy Proposals

Democratic

The new Democratic administration will seek international agreements to assure fair competition and fair labor standards to protect our own workers and to improve the lot of workers elsewhere.

Our domestic economic policies and our essential foreign policies must be harmonious.

To sell, we must buy. We therefore must resist the temptation to accept remedies that deny American producers and consumers access to world markets and destroy the prosperity of our friends in the non-Communist world. . . .

We shall keep open the lines of communication with our opponents. Despite difficulties in the way of peaceful agreement, every useful avenue will be energetically explored and pursued. . . .

The pursuit of peace, our contribution to the stability of the new nations of the world, our hopes for progress and well-being at home, all these depend in large measure on our ability to release the full potential of our American economy for employment, production, and growth. . . .

As the Party of Hope it is our responsibility and opportunity to call forth the greatness of the American people.

A new Democratic administration will expand Federal programs to aid urban communities to clear their slums, dispose of their sewage, educate their children, transport suburban commuters to and from their jobs, and combat juvenile delinquency.

Republican

Our time surges with change and challenge, peril and great opportunities. It calls us to great tasks and efforts—for free men can hope to guard freedom only if they prove capable of historic acts of wisdom and courage. . . .

Free men look to us for leadership and support, which we dedicate ourselves to give out of the abundance of our national strength.

The fate of the world will be deeply affected, perhaps determined, by the quality of American leadership. American leadership means both how we govern ourselves and how we help to influence others. We deliberate the choice of national leadership and policy, mindful that in some measure our proposals involve the fate of mankind.

The leadership of the United States must be responsible and mature; its promises must be rational and practical, soberly pledged and faithfully undertaken. Its purposes and its aspirations must ascend to that high ground of right and freedom upon which mankind may dwell and progress in decent security.

We are impressed, but not dismayed, by the revolutionary turbulence that is wracking the world. In the midst of violence and change, we draw strength and confidence from the changeless principles of our free Constitution. Free men are invincible when the power and courage, the patience and the fortitude latent in them are drawn forth by reasonable appeal.

In this Republican platform we offer to the United States our program

We will give the city dweller a voice at the Cabinet table by bringing together within a single department programs concerned with urban and metropolitan problems.

The United States is now predominantly an urban nation.

—our call to service, our pledge of leadership, our proposal of measures in the public interest. We call upon God, in whose hand is every blessing, to favor our deliberations with wisdom, our nation with endurance, and troubled mankind everywhere with a righteous peace.

☒ Unrelenting Efforts to Achieve Universal Disarmament

Democratic

There are no simple solutions to the infinitely complex challenges which face us. Mankind's eternal dream, a world of peace, can only be built slowly and patiently.

A primary task is to develop responsible proposals that will help break the deadlock on arms control.

Such proposals should include means for ending nuclear tests under workable safeguards, cutting back nuclear weapons, reducing conventional forces, preserving outer space for peaceful purposes, preventing surprise attack, and limiting the risk of accidental war.

This requires a national peace agency for disarmament planning and research to muster the scientific ingenuity, co-ordination, continuity, and seriousness of purpose which are now lacking in our arms control efforts. . . .

More than $100 billion of the world's production now goes each year into armaments. To the extent that we can secure the adoption of effective arms control agreements, vast resources will be freed for peaceful use.

The new Democratic administration will plan for an orderly shift of our expenditures.

As world-wide disarmament pro-

Republican

We are ready to negotiate and to institute realistic methods and safeguards for disarmament, and for the suspension of nuclear tests. We advocate an early agreement by all nations to forgo nuclear tests in the atmosphere, and the suspension of other tests as verification techniques permit. We support the President in any decision he may make to reevaluate the question of resumption of underground nuclear explosion testing, if the Geneva Conference fails to produce a satisfactory agreement. We have deep concern about the mounting nuclear arms race. This concern leads us to seek disarmament and nuclear agreements. And an equal concern to protect all peoples from nuclear danger leads us to insist that such agreements have adequate safeguards.

We recognize that firm political and military policies, while imperative for our security, cannot in themselves build peace in the world. . . .

We must intensify our efforts to develop better safeguards in the field of disarmament. . . .

ceeds, it will free vast resources for a new international attack on the problem of world poverty.

☒ Equal Treatment of All Minorities

Democratic

We shall seek to create an affirmative new atmosphere in which to deal with racial divisions and inequalities which threaten both the integrity of our democratic faith and the proposition on which our nation was founded—that all men are created equal. It is our faith in human dignity that distinguishes our open free society from the closed totalitarian society of the Communists.

What is now required is effective moral and political leadership by the whole executive branch of our Government to make equal opportunity a living reality for all Americans. . . .

We will support whatever action is necessary to eliminate literacy tests and the payment of poll taxes as requirements for voting. . . .

We believe that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision should submit a plan providing for at least first-step compliance by 1963, the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

To facilitate compliance, technical and financial assistance should be given to school districts facing special problems of transition.

For this and for the protection of all other Constitutional rights of Americans, the Attorney General should be empowered and directed to file civil injunction suits in Federal courts to prevent the denial of

Republican

This nation was created to give expression, validity, and purpose to our spiritual heritage—the supreme worth of the individual. In such a nation—a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal—racial discrimination has no place. It can hardly be reconciled with a Constitution that guarantees equal protection under law to all persons. In a deeper sense, too, it is immoral and unjust. . . .

Each of the following pledges is practical and within realistic reach of accomplishment.

1. *Voting.* We pledge:

• Continued vigorous enforcement of civil rights laws to guarantee the right to vote to all citizens in all areas of the country.

• Legislation to provide that the completion of six primary grades in a state-accredited school is conclusive evidence of literacy for voting purposes.

2. *Public Schools.* We pledge:

• The Department of Justice will continue its vigorous support of court orders for school desegregation. . . .

• It will use the new authority provided by the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to prevent obstruction of court orders.

• We will propose legislation to authorize the Attorney General to bring actions for school desegregation in the name of the United States in appropriate cases, as when eco-

any civil rights on grounds of race, creed, or color.

The new Democratic administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission effectively to secure for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment.

In 1949 the President's Committee on Civil Rights recommended a permanent Commission on Civil Rights. The new Democratic administration will broaden the scope and strengthen the powers of the present commission and make it permanent.

In addition, the Democratic administration will use its full executive powers to assure equal employment opportunities and to terminate racial segregation throughout Federal services and institutions, and on all Government contracts. . . .

Similarly the new Democratic administration will take action to end discrimination in Federal housing programs, including Federally assisted housing.

To accomplish these goals will require executive orders, legal actions, brought by the Attorney General, legislation, and improved Congressional procedures to safeguard majority rule.

Above all, it will require the strong, active, persuasive, and inventive leadership of the President of the United States. . . .

We propose a Federal bureau of intergroup relations to help solve problems of discrimination in housing, education, employment, and community opportunities in general. The bureau would assist in the solution of problems arising from the resettlement of immigrants and minomic coercion or threat of physical harm is used to deter persons from going to court to establish their rights.

• Our continuing support of the President's proposal to extend Federal aid and technical assistance to schools which in good faith attempted to desegregate.

We oppose the pretense of fixing a target date three years from now for the mere submission of plans for school desegregation. Slow-moving school districts would construe it as a three-year moratorium during which progress would cease, postponing until 1963 the legal process to enforce compliance. . . .

3. *Employment.* We pledge:

• Continued support for legislation to establish a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts. . . .

4. *Housing.* We pledge:

• Action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with the aid of Federal subsidies.

5. *Public Services.* We pledge:

• Removal of any vestige of discrimination in the operation of Federal facilities or procedures which may at any time be found.

• Opposition to the use of Federal funds for the construction of segregated community facilities. . . .

6. *Legislative Procedure.* We pledge:

• Our best efforts to change present Rule 22 of the Senate and other appropriate Congressional procedures that often make unattainable proper legislative implementation of constitutional guarantees. . . .

grants within our own country, and in resolving religious, social, and other tensions where they arise. . . .

Free consent of the Indian tribes concerned shall be required before the Federal Government makes any change in any Federal Indian treaty or other contractual relationship. . . .

The Democratic administration which takes office next January will therefore use the full powers provided in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960 to secure for all Americans the right to vote.

If these powers, vigorously invoked by a new attorney general and backed by a strong and imaginative Democratic President, prove inadequate, further powers will be sought.

Finally we recognize that civil rights is a responsibility not only of states and localities; it is a national problem and a national responsibility. The Federal Government should take the initiative in promoting intergroup conferences among those who, in their communities, are earnestly seeking solutions of the complex problems of desegregation—to the end that closed channels of communication may be opened, tensions eased, and a co-operative solution of local problems may be sought. . . .

We are opposed to precipitous termination of the Federal Indian trusteeship responsibility, and pledge not to support any termination plan for any tribe which has not approved such action.

☒ Control of Inflation Within a Continually Expanding Economy

Democratic

The new Democratic administration will confidently proceed to unshackle American enterprise and to free American labor, industrial leadership, and capital to create an abundance that will outstrip any other system. . . .

We Democrats believe that our economy can and must grow at an average rate of 5 per cent annually, almost twice as fast as our average annual rate since 1953. We pledge ourselves to policies that will achieve this goal without inflation.

Economic growth is the means whereby we improve the American standard of living and produce added tax resources for national security and essential public services. . . .

As the first step in speeding economic growth, a Democratic President will put an end to the present

Republican

To provide the means to a better life for individual Americans and to strengthen the forces of freedom in the world, we count on the proved productivity of our free economy.

Despite the lamentations of the opposition in viewing the economic scene today, the plain fact is that our five-hundred-billion-dollar economy finds more Americans at work, earning more, spending more, saving more, investing more, building more than ever before in history. The well-being of our people, by virtually every yardstick, has greatly advanced under this Republican Administration.

But we can and must do better. We must raise employment to even higher levels and utilize even more fully our expanding, over-all capacity to produce. We must quicken the

high interest, tight money policy. . . .

We are committed to maximum employment, at decent wages and with fair profits, in a far more productive, expanding economy. . . .

Inflation has its roots in a variety of causes; its cure lies in a variety of remedies. Among those remedies are monetary and credit policies properly applied, budget surpluses in times of full employment, and action to restrain "administered price" increases in industries where economic power rests in the hands of a few. . . .

We vigorously reject the notion that America, with a half-trillion-dollar gross national product, and nearly half of the world's industrial resources, cannot afford to meet the needs of its people at home and in our world relationships.

We believe, moreover, that except in periods of recessions or national emergency these needs can be met with a balanced budget, with increase in present tax rates, and with some surplus for the gradual reduction of our national debt.

pace of our economic growth to prove the power of American free enterprise to meet growing and urgent demands: to sustain our military posture, to provide jobs for a growing labor force in a time of rapid technological change, to improve living standards, to serve the needs of an expanding population.

We therefore accord high priority to vigorous economic growth and recognize that its mainspring lies in the private sector of the economy. We must continue to foster a healthy climate in that sector. We reject the concept of artificial growth forced by massive new Federal spending and loose money policies. The only effective way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy—initiative and investment, productivity and efficiency.

Discharge by government the responsibility for those activities which the private sector cannot do or cannot so well do, such as constructive Federal-local action to aid areas of chronic high unemployment, a sensible farm policy, development and wise use of natural resources, suitable support of education and research, and equality of job opportunity for all Americans.

Action on these fronts, designed to release the strongest productive force in human affairs—the spirit of individual enterprise—can contribute greatly to our goal of a steady, strongly growing economy.

☒ Assisting the Newly Developing Countries of the World

Democratic

To the non-Communist nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America: we

Republican

We recognize that upon our support of well-conceived programs of

shall create with you working partnerships, based on mutual respect and understanding.

In the Jeffersonian tradition, we recognize and welcome the irresistible momentum of the world revolution of rising expectations for a better life. We shall identify American policy with its values and objectives.

To this end the new Democratic administration will revamp and refocus the objectives, emphasis, and allocation of our foreign assistance programs.

The proper purpose of these programs is not to buy gratitude or to recruit mercenaries, but to enable the peoples of these awakening, developing nations to make their own free choices.

As they achieve a sense of belonging, of dignity, and of justice, freedom will become meaningful for them, and therefore worth defending.

Where military assistance remains essential for the common defense, we shall see that the requirements are fully met. But as rapidly as security considerations permit, we will replace tanks with tractors, bombers with bulldozers, and tacticians with technicians.

economic co-operation among nations rest the best hopes of hundreds of millions of friendly people for a decent future for themselves and their children. Our mutual security program of economic help and technical assistance; the Development Loan Fund, the Inter-American Bank, the International Development Association, and the Food for Peace Program, which create the conditions for progress in less-developed countries; our leadership in international efforts to help children, eliminate pestilence and disease, and aid refugees—these are programs wise in concept and generous in purpose. We mean to continue in support of them.

Now we propose to further evolution of our programs for assistance to, and co-operation with, other nations, suitable to the emerging needs of the future.

We will encourage the countries of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, to initiate appropriate regional groupings to work out plans for economic and educational development. We anticipate that the United Nations Special Fund would be of assistance in developing such

We shall place our programs of international co-operation on a long-term basis to permit more effective planning. We shall seek to associate other capital exporting countries with us in promoting the orderly economic growth of the underdeveloped world.

We shall explore the feasibility of shipping and storing a substantial part of our food abundance in a system of "food banks" located in distribution centers in the underdeveloped world.

plans. The United States would offer its co-operation in planning, and the provision of technical personnel for this purpose. Agreeable to the developing nations, we would join with them in inviting countries with advanced economies to share with us a proportionate part of the capital and technical aid required. We would emphasize the increasing use of private capital and Government loans, rather than outright grants, as a means of fostering independence and mutual respect. The President's recent initiative of a joint partnership program for Latin America opens the way to this approach.

Readers are urged to secure the entire platform of both parties for a better appreciation of their internal unity and total message. They may be requested without charge from the national headquarters of each party —Republican, 1625 Eye St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; Democratic, 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Christian Responsibility in the 1960 Elections

Adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches, February, 1960

THE American people, during 1960, will hold a presidential election designed to entrust the power of government into those hands chosen by the people to administer our national affairs on the basis of a decision arrived at through the vigorous debate of the political campaign. But the truly awesome issues of this time will not be faced by the people of the United States unless we arouse ourselves from our political lethargy and take full responsibility for the policy decisions which our nation must make. Only the citizens can bring about the vigorous and thoughtful discussion of issues which will make the election worthy of the democratic process. Through this message the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. speaks to its member churches and through them to all Americans about the political responsibility all citizens bear in this election.

A Concern of All the People

The political campaign now in progress will involve four decisive stages: the drafting of party platforms, the nomination of candidates, the appeal for votes, and the casting of ballots.

At each stage of this national campaign and in all state and local elections the individuals in our churches have the right and the duty to be heard. Political endeavor is ennobled when it is subjected to the test of conscience. The God of our fathers continues to call us to seek and to do his will in our public life. Christians must fulfill this role to the end that the political struggle upon which the country is embarking will strengthen the ramparts of freedom at home, add to the moral stature of our nation, and contribute to the constructive political, economic, and social developments among the peoples of the world.

The ways in which we, as citizens, face these questions are manifold. In addition to our vote at the polls, the normal contacts of our daily life affect public thought and decision. In mealtime discussions, in our conversations with friends and colleagues, in working associations, in social and fraternal societies, we have the opportunity to clarify our own thinking and that of others. Through individuals and groups we can help to create a public climate of integrity and search for truth at a time when great decisions are hanging in the balance.

It is the responsibility of political leaders at the forthcoming nominating conventions to define the guiding principles and state the specific policies upon which their respective

candidates will stand for election, and which the parties intend to carry out. The official pronouncements of the churches in the area of social action are relevant to the issues that are dealt with in party platforms. People have the responsibility to inquire concerning the bearing of a candidate's religious views upon his decisions in public office. It is the responsibility of the members of our churches to vigorously oppose appeals to religious bigotry as a factor in elections. Voting should be based primarily upon a candidate's personal integrity, his leadership competence, and his stand on central issues.

The Responsibility of the Churches

Christians seek to build a responsible society, one where freedom is the freedom of men who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order, and where those who hold political authority or economic power are responsible for its exercise to God and the people whose welfare is affected by it.

With respect to domestic policy churches both individually and through the National Council of Churches have worked closely with public agencies in improving the social welfare of our people. While the churches are aware of unresolved problems of human relationships within their own lives, nevertheless, corporately and through their members they have supported efforts to preserve and extend civil rights and civil liberties to all groups in our population, to extend the voting franchise to all qualified citizens irrespective of race, to achieve equality of opportunity for all, and to assure equal protection to all before the law. They have sought to uphold religious liberty. They have spoken and acted against racial discrimination and have supported the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools and elsewhere. They have sought to enunciate and to help implement Christian principles of conduct in relationships between management and labor.

With respect to foreign policy, the churches have urged the United States to accept more fully its responsibilities as a member of the family of nations and to strive by every honorable means to establish peace and justice upon the earth.

They have affirmed the necessity for an untrammeled exchange of ideas through speaking, teaching, preaching, assembling, voting, and the press and other mass media of communication. They have sought to improve the standards of ethical conduct in political activity and public office.

Believing that the will of God should be sought for all areas of life, the churches have tried to discover his will and obey it in the area of public responsibility. They have engaged in studies of our civic and political life in an effort to give greater guidance to the churches and to Christian individuals in the principles of Christian public action. They believe that these principles mentioned above, considered on the basis of their inherent merit will commend themselves to our fellow Americans as being in the highest national interest.

The foregoing are among the policies approved by our churches through the National Council of

Churches, policies which we commend to all voters and to those responsible for the nomination of candidates and the drafting of party platforms. Members of churches are urged to restudy these issues and to communicate their convictions to party leaders and candidates for office.

Campaign Standards

It is right and proper that United States policy, domestic and foreign, be vigorously debated during the weeks ahead. This debate should not proceed, however, along the line of sectional, racial, religious, or class divisions. We are one people. Our national unity, despite partisan rivalries, is indispensable to our survival as a free people. To set class against class, or religion against religion, or race against race, is a vicious practice and repugnant to all honorable Americans. The well-being of our people at home, and the position of the United States in the eyes of the world, transcend the partisan fortunes of any candidate. In their appeal for votes candidates for public office should act with forthright integrity and disdain all forms of demagoguery. Citizens should hold the candidates responsible for their conduct of the campaign and work to ensure that there is no resort to intimidation or bribery, direct or indirect. The honor and prestige of our nation must not be thrown to the winds of irresponsible political disputation.

Political Action

Not the candidates alone, but the people as a whole, should participate intelligently in the discussion of public issues. This should be true in relation to all areas of debate—local, state, and national. If our democracy is to flourish, the people must participate in the making of policy. All potential voters in the population should be encouraged to register (even if a poll tax is a prerequisite).

The final stage of the election campaign will be reached on November 8 when the people go to the polls. A free and secret ballot is one of the treasured rights of United States citizenship, which should be carefully exercised by every qualified voter in elections with respect both to the least conspicuous local office and to the presidency.

This Nation Under God

It is our fervent prayer that in the exercise of their franchise the voters of our country will prove worthy of their heritage as a free people under God. It would be a disaster, if, in this time of decision, political loyalties were not governed by considerations of truth, justice, and righteousness. We recognize that political parties are essential to the democratic process of this nation, but of greater importance than the victory of a particular political party at the polls in November is the victory that will be shared by all people if decisions are made that will strengthen the foundations of freedom and enhance the prospects for peace and justice throughout the world.

To these ends, we call upon the members of our churches to act worthily in their vocation as citizens praying for the guidance of God, that his will may be done through us and through all the citizens of our land.

PROGRAM / POINTERS

THE six "Top Priority" issues discussed for SOCIAL PROGRESS readers by the two presidential candidates are also urgent matters for consideration in churches and judicatories. Presbyteries as well as presidential candidates have responsibility for increasing public understanding of them.

Examination of these issues may lead SEA committees to recommend that presbyteries conduct workshops to deal with the subjects involved.

Not infrequently presbytery committees are criticized for acting or recommending action without full knowledge of facts. Social research is essential to give status and authority to recommendations. Careful scrutiny of the social deliverances of General Assembly is a basic and necessary part of presbytery study.

In compiling information and making its scientific inquiries, there should be consultation with resource persons, help from nearby colleges, use of resources from local libraries, and from the Office of Church and Society. The presbytery committee should enlist the aid and counsel of such groups as world affairs councils, human relations commissions, social and civic agencies, councils of churches.

Relevant Action

To take courageous action requires the study and fact-finding outlined above, accompanied by thoughtful and prayerful discussion of what kinds of action may be (*a*) needed by presbytery as a whole and (*b*) recommended to the churches.

Drafting the report to presbytery.—Obviously SEA reports should be based on accurate facts and sound analyses of issues. In drafting them the committee should be guided by:

→ Analysis of community needs, problems, changes, social pressures, and tensions as these affect the lives of people.

→ Specialized studies of housing problems, intergroup relations, population changes, educational needs, academic freedom in the public schools, evidences of discrimination and segregation, causes of labor tension, influence of newspapers and radio.

→ Study of national legislation, and the platforms of political parties and candidates for public office.

Chairmen and committee members should know what they want to accomplish in the report and what they expect presbytery and the churches to do about it. Reports should be the result of co-operative thought and democratic discussion in which many viewpoints are expressed.

All members of the committee should have a part in deciding what should go into the reports—not

merely the chairman or two or three zealous or overly aggressive members who come to the meeting with resolution in hand! The committee should also consult competent resource persons where needed.

As the report is prepared, the committee should anticipate what follow-up is desired in the churches. Definite suggestions may be incorporated in the report or in the presentation. The follow-up projects should be varied to reach both the thinkers and doers.

Presenting the report.—Drastic steps should be taken to keep presbytery reports from being wearisome harangues or monologues. Here are some suggestions:

⟶ The actual presentations should be varied. Graphs or charts may visualize issues or needs.

⟶ It may be strategic to have "hot" issues presented not by the social education and action chairman or committee members but by a member of another presbytery committee, or a theologian from a Presbyterian seminary.

⟶ Some attention should be given to "floor strategy" when a controversial subject is to be discussed. Respected and trusted members of the presbytery may be urged to be present and to take part in the presentation or in the debate.

⟶ It is very important for the chairman and committee members to be prepared to document and justify their proposals during the floor discussion. In some cases it may be possible for them to use an expert on the subject to advise them and to give facts and figures as needed. But it is important that there be no appearance of collusion between the expert and the committee. The presbytery expects the committee to do its own thinking.

⟶ Speakers in support of a resolution should always avoid making extreme statements or generalizations that are not completely justified by the facts. They should avoid using the results of surveys and polls which are not known to have been conducted in an approved scientific manner. The arguments should be reasonable, objective, impersonal, and always in good taste.

Some opposition and tension are to be expected. A few individuals and groups may be strongly against the church's taking any stand on a "political" matter.

If the report is to do more than generate controversy, it ought to point to some specific and positive things that members and groups in the churches may do. There is frequently the temptation to substitute ideas about action for action, and to make a heated debate on the pros and cons of a problem an exhilarating escape from any solution of it.

Too often committees keep social action projects at such a lofty, academic level that they reach only a few intellectuals who would be interested anyway, and rest joyfully on their laurels when presbytery has approved the resolution.

The action of presbytery should be interpreted to the churches by letter, bulletin, or telephone, and it should be explained what response is expected from them. Copies of the report may be sent to other denominational bodies, civic organizations, and to the public press and the synod bulletin or newspaper.

WHAT'S HAPPENING

In the Churches

Legislators of the State of California, recently called upon to abolish capital punishment, had no difficulty in discovering the stand of the church in this matter. Dr. E. G. Williams, Executive and General Presbyter, Central Area, Synod of California, said: "There was no question as to where the leaders of religious and social standards stood on this matter. . . . Social and religious institutions rallied and took a firm stand, including our Northern California and our Sacramento Council of Churches."

When it was evident that the matter would be considered by the legislature, Dr. Williams moved into the action promptly. A request was made of the Department of Social Education and Action for copies of the action of the 171st General Assembly regarding the question of the abolition of capital punishment. Copies together with documentation were immediately made available. These papers were personally directed to every member of the Senate and Assembly of the State of California. The mailing reached the desk of every member prior to the calling of this question of capital punishment before the Senate Judiciary Committee of the State Senate. In addition, Dr. Williams addressed a personal and private letter to Governor Edmund G. Brown.

At the invitation of Senator Farr, the author of the bill, Dr. Williams was asked to present the position of the church before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The documents of the church were subsequently filed as a part of the exhibits of the Committee. At the beginning of the hearing, "experts" were predicting that out of the fifteen members on the Senate Judiciary Committee they expected a vote of ten for the retention of capital punishment and five in favor of the bill. The final vote was actually eight against reporting the bill and seven for reporting the bill. There was evidently some shift of votes in the committee; and if there had been more time and the atmosphere less charged with the emotional Chessman issues, they might have been able to change one more vote. The change of one vote would have, of course, reported the bill out.

In commenting on the outcome, Dr. Williams said, "This whole thing has been a very dramatic and a very testing experience as we have borne our witness here."

To facilitate the sharing of insights and information concerning particular social problems, the Committee on Planning and Procedure, Department of Social Education and Action, Chicago Presbytery, has issued an appeal for interested persons to aid them in research and study.

The Committee is currently interested in gathering data related to (1) crime and law enforcement, (2) the

quota plan for the dispersion of Negroes in white areas, (3) political philosophy of Roman Catholicism, and (4) social welfare in reference to what is being done and what can be done, abuses of funds, etc., in the Chicago area.

Individuals can participate either by taking definite assignments from the Committee or by referring to them pertinent insights and information gained in individual reading and study.

With a concern for the social and political climate of his community, coupled with an opportunity to witness for justice, David Wiley, while serving as an intern pastor of the Westminster Foundation at the University of Delaware, mobilized a group of citizens for the purpose of bringing to the electorate of Newark, Delaware, facts about the city's first Negro councilman.

Two years previously Mr. George Wilson, an elder in the Community Presbyterian Church, became Newark's first Negro councilman candidate. The possibility of election seemed remote. However, he was elected to a two-year term by involuntary default of his opponent. That opponent had not had the required legal residence in the city as he claimed. This year Mr. Wilson became a candidate for re-election in his district which is approximately 84 per cent white. With a small budget, one fifth the size of his opponents and no paid workers as they had, Mr. Wilson's record of legislation and community action was told against the background of a record of attendance at every regular city council meeting and voting on every major issue facing city council during his first term of office.

Initially eight people in white neighborhoods agreed to talk to their neighbors about Wilson's good record, and finally door-to-door calls were made in the district by several Presbyterian students, two Roman Catholics, two Unitarians, an AFL–CIO racial relations co-ordinator, and Mr. and Mrs. David Wiley.

The result was a real surprise. Wilson won 753-658 with roughly 80 per cent of the electorate voting (a larger percentage turnout than any previous election).

In commenting on the efforts, Mr. Wiley said, "Wilson's victory was a surprise to all of us and a demonstration of the effectiveness of a little work in politics at grass-roots level."

Challenged by the General Assembly's call for a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society, Christ Presbyterian Church, a three-and-a-half-year-old congregation in a typical postwar white suburban area on the "West Shore" across the Susquehanna River from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, took an important first step in February, 1959, by joining with a Negro congregation, the Capital Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, to form a small but effective human relations group. Numbering about sixteen (four couples from each church) the group has continued to hold monthly meetings alternately in the two churches. Two men, one from each church, serve as co-chairmen.

In reviewing the history of the group, Rev. John A. Sensening, pas-

tor of the Christ Presbyterian Church, says: "We have learned, in a social atmosphere, to know and to accept each other as people. We are losing self-consciousness, misconceptions, and stereotyped images. We have learned many of the facts about discrimination, segregation, prejudice, and stereotyping—housing, employment, educational, cultural and recreational opportunities, genetics, "passing," the constant injury Negroes are subjected to. We have gained not only facts, but also conviction and courage to deal with prejudice and discrimination in our own relationships and experiences. As a result of the atmosphere created at least in part by the group, covenants of open occupancy were circulated in both churches."

While the group are aware that the activities have had very little effect on the total community, they have had great effect on them individually and upon their churches. They also find that the very existence of the group and the individual influence of its members are having an effect upon quite a number of other people and other groups. The group operates under the supervision of the session of each church and reports monthly to the sessions through their respective Social Education and Action Committees.

What would you do? You are a Protestant. You live in a community where Protestants are in the majority. All members of the public-school board are Protestants. You discover that school facilities are being used for religious instruction. This to you is a violation of church and state relationship as defined by the Constitution and contrary to your understanding of religious freedom as it relates to the nature and mission of the church in this pluralistic society.

One approach to this situation is illustrated by the action taken by Rev. Eldon L. Seamans, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, who found himself in a comparable situation. In this particular instance, Mr. Seamans first shared his concern with his congregation; then with fellow ministers of the community; and then at an official school board meeting personally protested the use of public-school facilities for the use of religious instruction. Mr. Seamans pointed out that (1) the legality of such a program was highly questionable, (2) the program was conveying the idea that the public schools were endorsing the religious program of a specific group in the community, and he raised the question of the advisability of allowing any group the privilege of keeping religion in school buildings because the doors were then opened for all groups to do the same.

While Mr. Seamans' action did not stop the religious activities in the schools, it has brought a new awareness of the dimensions of freedom to the church and to the community.

About Books

Parties and Politics in America, by Clinton Rossiter. Cornell University Press, 1960. 205 pp. with index. $2.85; paper, $1.65.

Here is a present and useful election year reading for every American citizen who wants to have a far better-than-average understanding of what is going on this fall.

Dr. Rossiter, well-known political scientist and historian, is professor of the American Institute at Cornell University. Among his widely read previous books are *Seedtime of the Republic, Conservatism in America,* and *The American Presidency.*

The scope of the book is suggested by the five chapter titles: The Pattern of American Politics, The Function of American Parties, Democrats and Republicans: Who Are They? Democrats or Republicans: What Difference Does It Make? The Future of American Politics.

This is a forthright and objective account of American party politics. "Nowhere in the world," says Dr. Rossiter, "even in the nightmares of our friendly critics from abroad, is there a pattern of politics anything like ours." His language is vivid and vigorous as he clarifies the pattern, finding in its durability "a cause of modest rejoicing rather than of gnawing frustration."

Dr. Rossiter regards the two principal parties as useful, effective, and altogether indispensable instruments of constitutional democracy. He undertakes a critical analysis of each party, examining its strength, origin, development, achievements, failures. The real difference between the two parties he finds to be one of tendencies rather than principles.

Dr. Rossiter looks ahead, discussing what is likely to happen and what ought to happen on the American political scene. He foresees that in the next twenty-five years the parties will remain loose, supple, overlapping, decentralized, undisciplined, interest-directed, and principle-shunning.

This is a presentation of the hard facts of political life in the United States by an expert who writes with critical affection and admiration.

Political Freedom: The Constitutional Powers of the People, by Alexander Meiklejohn. Harper & Brothers, 1960. 166 pp. $3.50.

This valuable book incorporates and expands a previous book, published in 1948, on *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government,* which is still regarded as an important contribution to political science.

The author has served as Dean of Brown University, President of Amherst College, and Chairman of the School for Social Studies in San Francisco.

The author distinguishes between freedom of speech in private affairs

and freedom of speech upon public issues. He points out that we can seriously restrict the latter freedom in a way that prevents public discussion and enlightenment on matters of social importance. He applies his thesis to several specific legal cases involving academic freedom, Congressional investigations, the integrity of our universities.

The book will be an indispensable reference for all who are interested in the preservation of the basic right of free speech in a democracy.

The present volume includes a fifteen-page foreword by Malcolm Sharp, of the Law School of the University of Chicago.

Reinhold Niebuhr on Politics: His Political Philosophy and Its Application to Our Age as Expressed in His Writings, edited by Harry R. Davis and Robert C. Good. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960. 364 pp. with index. $6.50.

This extremely useful volume is based on sixteen of Dr. Niebuhr's books and some 170 of his articles. The material is selected, gathered, and put together so as to form a logical whole. The entire text represents the writing of Dr. Niebuhr. The original source of each excerpt is faithfully recorded in notes at the end of the volume. Some of the chapter headings suggest the range of the writing: The Contemporary Crisis; The Soft Utopians: Liberalism; The Hard Utopians: Communism; The Relevance of Christian Realism: An Orientation; Human Nature and the Will-to-Power; Groups in the Struggle for Power; The Problem of the Love Ethic in Politics; The Case Against Pacifism; Love, Justice and the Question of Natural Law; Government and the Strategy of Democracy; The Christian in Politics; The Problem of Economic Power; The Problem of Race Relations; The Soviet Threat; Foreign Policy and World Responsibility; Faith for a Hazardous Future.

Dr. Niebuhr's eminence as a theologian is matched now by his reputation as a political theorist. Increasingly he is cited, reprinted, and politically analyzed by students of international relations and political theory.

Dr. Davis is professor of government at Beloit College, and Dr. Good is assistant professor of international relations at the University of Denver. They have done a significant service in preparing this volume.

Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, by Hans J. Morgenthau. Third Edition. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1960. 630 pp. plus index.

This book is a major rewriting and expanding of material contained in the earlier editions of 1948 and 1954. In the process of testing his theory of international politics, which emphasizes realism, in the light of changes in the political environment since the second edition was published, Dr. Morgenthau has felt the need to change the emphasis here and there while leaving the basic assumptions and tenets, and the theoretical structure intact.

The ten parts of the book discuss: (1) Theory and Practice of International Politics, (2) International Politics as a Struggle for Power,

(3) National Power, (4) Limitations of National Power, (5) International Morality and World Public Opinion, (6) International Law, (7) World Politics Today, (8) Peace Through Limitation, (9) Peace Through Transformation, (10) Peace Through Accommodation. The thirty-two chapters deal with a variety of subjects—the struggle for power, the elements of national power, international morality, the question of sovereignty, the new balance of power, disarmament, security, peaceful change, the United Nations, the world community, the future of diplomacy.

Dr. Morgenthau is professor of political science and Director of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy at the University of Chicago. The present book is a basic one in the field of international relations.

Intelligence and Democratic Action, by Frank H. Knight. Harvard University Press, 1960. 177 pp. with index. $3.75.

The author is a professor emeritus of social science and philosophy at the University of Chicago. The present volume embraces the lectures delivered at the University of Virginia.

Mr. Knight examines the fundamental issues facing the free society. How can critical intelligence be applied to social or collective decision-making? What steps must be taken to ensure that intelligent judgment shall replace prejudice in guiding individual participation in the democratic process? How can democracy genuinely approach "government by discussion"? To what extent can man, as he exists in the modern world, rationally impose upon himself the constraints that are essential for his survival? Not easy questions, and Mr. Knight offers no simple answers. The present volume maintains a reasoned affirmation that the free society can be preserved.

In the six chapters of the book, the author discusses (1) the quest for rational norms, (2) the historical background of the free society, (3) the structure of the economic order, (4) general problems of the economic order, (5) the ethics of liberalism, (6) problems raised by the liberation of the mind.

The author notes that people habitually see conditions in moral terms and moralize about them, looking for someone to blame and to punish. He suggests that if the free society is to persist and improve, the public must learn that problems are to be solved only by intelligent agreement to genuine free discussion, not by moralizing about past failures or finding a scapegoat.

This is a refreshing and even exciting book to read in an election year.

The Mass Communicators: Public Relations, Public Opinion, and Mass Media, by Charles S. Steinberg. Harper & Brothers, 1958. 470 pp. with index. $6.00.

Dr. Steinberg is Director of Press Information in the radio division of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He is also Editor of *The Motion Picture* (a bibliography), and lecturer in communication arts at New York University. He writes here to

and for the professional communicators. His book is published also in a text edition for use in colleges and schools of journalism.

Dr. Steinberg presents a historical and analytical evaluation of both the theory and the practice of communication via mass media. The book recognizes the importance of public opinion as a growing influence in American life.

The author states his purpose as an attempt "to describe public relations in terms of function; to explore public opinion research and each of the mass media as it relates to public relations; to indicate how public relations is practiced both in terms of policy and in terms of publicity, promotion, and advertising; and, finally, to explore the relationship between public relations and propaganda, and to indicate at least some of the major ethical considerations inherent in the practice of public relations and the use of the mass media.

The last section of the book, "Concepts and Campaigns," is devoted to case histories and illustrations. A useful, basic bibliography is appended.

This is a basic textbook in the arts of public relations in mass communication. It should be good reading for many churchmen not only because of what it says about the subject with which it deals, but also because of what it reveals about American culture and Western life.

The Question of National Defense, by Oskar Morgenstern. Random House, Inc., 1959. 306 pp. with index. $3.95.

The author of this splendid book is professor of political economy at Princeton University. He is a member of the advisory panel to the Military Applications Subcommittee of the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. He is also a consultant to the Atomic Energy Commission. He is best known, perhaps, as co-author, with John von Neumann, of *The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior.*

This book is based on the shocking premise—the probability of total thermonuclear destruction is greater than our chance of survival, but if we survive, the probability that our country will be defeated politically is greater than a chance that our Government and civilization will continue to flourish.

Dr. Morgenstern argues that the only effective defense is an invulnerable retaliatory force, which no enemy attack can destroy and which guarantees the attacker's destruction. The only invulnerable retaliatory force, he asserts, is a widely dispersed fleet of missile-bearing submarines on random courses.

The book argues that our present defensive efforts are completely inadequate. We have made no provision, the author states, for the safety of our population. Our cities cannot be saved. The price of effective defense is immense, but the price of defeat is greater.

It is widely believed that thermonuclear wars are unthinkable, so unthinkable as to be practically impossible. In order that this assumption be a valid basis for policy, both sides in the international struggle for power must believe it, accept it, and act upon it.

We must unceasingly work for peace. At the same time we need to be reminded of the risks we face.

United Nations: Hope for a Divided World, by Sir Leslie Munro. Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1960. 185 pp. with index. $4.00.

The author of this timely book served as President of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1957-1958, and served in almost every important organ of the United Nations. He has been New Zealand's Ambassador to the United States and its Chief Delegate to the United Nations. From this perspective and from the wisdom and humanitarianism, for which he is widely acclaimed, comes his fresh evaluation of the work of the United Nations to date.

In reviewing recent crises before the international body, Sir Leslie Munro focuses on Suez, Hungary, and Israel. He has a starting chapter on "A Step Toward Harmony in Outer Space," in which he tells why international law will soon have to be made applicable to celestial bodies, spaceships, satellites.

This book deserves the widest possible reading, not only for its information about the United Nations, but also for its dramatic lesson—the United Nations is not a remote, mysterious organism that functions only in the press. It is a vital part of our world community whose success is a matter not of delegates and officers but of public understanding and wide public support.

The Long Road to Humanity, by Stanton A. Coblentz. Thomas Yoseloff, 1959. 494 pp. with index. $6.00.

This is a demonstrating record of man's inhumanity to man, and of the slow emergence in human history of true humanity. The author helps the reader to see our own day reflected in the mirror of the ages and thus to gain a deeper understanding of many of the problems that afflict our times.

Mr. Coblentz writes of the mists of history when primitive man lived in a world of fear, of cannibalism and human sacrifice; he describes the dawn of civilization when mankind was divided into a hierarchy of master and slave; he discusses the turbulence and persecution of the Middle Ages, the black deeds of the Inquisition, and the witch-hunt hysteria. He looks behind the façade of civilized behavior that cloaked the rapacious explorers and empire builders, the early industrialists and exponents of colonialism. He exposes the terrors that lurk at the heart of totalitarianism which has led to the brutal slaughter of millions of men and women, even in our own time.

This book is based upon immense research. It is a rich and rewarding study, a splendid social history written with conviction and power.

Mr. Coblentz makes his home in Mill Valley, California, where he edits the noted poetry quarterly, *Wings*, and writes on a wide variety of subjects.

Dear Sir:

I read each publication of SOCIAL PROGRESS with a great deal of interest. In my opinion it is one of the finest publications of its kind.

It is, of course, too late to be of very great value in helping shape our thinking for the coming election this fall, but it seems to me it would be most helpful to publish a symposium on the subject of "The Basic Philosophical Differences Between the Republican and Democratic Parties." I am personally so confused that I am unable to see beyond personalities and the party platforms. I feel sure that something more basic than personalities and platforms for each four-year period should guide us in making our choices at the election polls.

I have heard the differentiation recently of one party's being for governmental administration from "the bottom up," while the other party's governing is "from the top down." This, however, seems terribly simplified, too much so. If there is any truth in the statement, what do they mean by it? Since the people's representation in Congress is by ballot-casting locally, how can such a statement have any real meaning?

It is my feeling that a great many people would appreciate a symposium, or other type of review, of this important subject in our magazine SOCIAL PROGRESS. If such a work has been done recently, and I am not aware of it, could you refer me to it.

Again, I wish to express my appreciation to the staff for the form and content of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

—Rev. William L. Staub
Sylvan Grove, Kans.

[*Editor's Note:* This issue is about as close as we can come to Mr. Staub's suggestion at this time.]

Dear Sir:

In all six of the articles in the symposium, "In the event that a Roman Catholic . . ." (SOCIAL PROGRESS, June, 1960, pages 7-21), no mention is made of an important corollary that I would call "Protestant responsibility for the continued maturation of American Roman Catholicism." William Lee Miller only mentions parenthetically, "Catholics in America have absorbed some Puritanism from the environment" (page 16).

It must be stated with great emphasis that American Catholicism has absorbed a large amount of the Protestant perspective. As we see Protestant values (both good and bad) being expressed in our middle-class ethic, we must observe that this middle-class ethic has transcended the religious bounds that once were cause for separation. This transcendence has had a dramatic impact upon the relationship of the individual Roman Catholic with his church.

In the case of Senator John Kennedy, whose "nonreligious" qualifications for the position of President are in need of some serious questioning (i.e., age; his relationship to a dominating and powerfully wealthy father; a relative inexperience in

foreign affairs; and at times a disturbingly erratic voting record), there is much to be said for his election as President by Protestants for religious reasons.

We have in Senator Kennedy a representative of the most liberal form of Roman Catholic leadership. His stand in relation to the Roman Catholic hierarchy is the stand of "Americanism." The position that received great attention under the leadership of James Cardinal Gibbons has found in the young Senator a more powerful and effective spokesman. Where Gibbons as a clergyman was constrained by his superiors, Senator Kennedy as a politician must express a more radical form of "Americanism" than has ever been attempted by a responsible Roman Catholic leader. Interestingly enough, any Roman Catholic desire to see a Roman Catholic in the White House must by necessity lead the clergy into a more "American" position. To elevate a Roman Catholic to a position of such national prominence as a layman only breeds greater desire for the Roman Catholic laity to have a stronger voice in the affairs of their church.

Most Protestants fail to recognize that there are two forms of relationship with papal power that are possible for the Roman Catholic. The one is direct papal rule as in Spain, the other allows for greater local-national authority as in France. The election of a liberal Roman Catholic as American President, one who has verbally espoused the causes of American Catholic self-determinism, may well be the cause of a breakthrough in the rigid wall of Roman Catholic parochialism. In this respect, if Protestants desire a greater and closer co-operation with Roman Catholic associates, such a breakthrough may have lasting impact upon ecumenical relations.

But let us also recognize the unique situation in which Roman Catholics have been placed in regard to our nation. As a minority group with enormous power they have played the role of the political "outs." They have, by and large, not been called upon to defend the policy and decisions of the Federal Government. In that the Federal Government appears to be representative of Protestant principles, they have not had the responsibility of arguing the affirmative. The election of a Roman Catholic President immediately places the church in the role of an advocate. Such a role will cause a serious re-evaluation on the part of the hierarchy and the rank and file in regards to constitutional law. As Senator Kennedy espouses the validity of the First Amendment, the church will be forced to answer anew to the issue. As in the formal debate, so here as well, there is real value in reversing the affirmative and the negative. There are few things that will sharpen the Protestant perspective toward government more effectively than for us to play the role of the "outs" for a time.

There is, therefore, much to be said on religious grounds for the election of a liberal Roman Catholic as President. The causes of co-operation and harmony between Protestant and Roman Catholic in America may well be fostered, developing a new type of Catholicism. As we attempt to foster our own perspective of the relation of a Chris-

tian to his church, because we believe that the church must be a democratic institution, it may well be that the election of a liberal Roman Catholic shall prosper the cause of a direct lay responsibility in the Catholic Church. It is well for us as Christians to consider our Protestant responsibility for the continued maturation of American Roman Catholicism toward more representative rule.

The impact of a liberal American Roman Catholic as President would also have strong reforming influence upon world Catholicism. Intellectual Roman Catholics in the pre-Reformation Catholic countries of South America would find in him a basis for questioning the Spanish inquisitional type rule. In the defense of American interest such a liberal President might well apply pressure for the freedom of religion in these countries. Such pressure is meaningless coming from a Protestant, but with the desire of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to support the President new advances become possible. If a liberal Roman Catholic did not support such religious freedom throughout the world, he would of course be in serious religious (and political) jeopardy at home. The climate of America has become one of toleration. Religious intolerance has become an anathema to Americans, including American Catholics. Senator Kennedy has been schooled in this type of American tolerance which has been continually in growing evidence throughout the American Catholic Church. Such liberal leadership may well provide the impetus for Roman Catholic acceptance of the Protestants outside the U.S.

As a Protestant, considering the entire situation from the basis of purely religious concerns, it is difficult indeed to turn aside from a liberal Roman Catholic Senator John Kennedy. Within his espoused "Americanism" are far too many "Protestant" ideas for us to fail to support him on a religious basis. The causes of Reformation shall only prosper under his leadership.

But the issue of the American presidency cannot, and must not, be decided upon solely religious grounds. To choose a President solely because he will foster reformation in the Roman Catholic Church is not to choose well. The American presidency must be resolved upon the grounds of who shall give the nation the best leadership; upon whose shoulders shall lay the responsibility for policy in these critical days; to whom shall we turn for economic and social vision; who is the man who shall reassert a creative foreign policy in this time of diplomatic anarchy? In this respect, for the sake of my nation and my world, I am forced to seek the election of a candidate who can represent more ably the answers to these larger questions.

—Rev. James M. Fennelly
Youngstown, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The July issue was most impressive. In your article on "Social Deliverances, 172d General Assembly" I found the section on race relations most interesting and especially in the calling of ministers. It seems to me that our church can best meet this problem by occasionally filling va-

cant pulpits with Negro supply ministers. The department of ministerial relations should develop some policy that would assure all prospects of at least being heard. I must admit that I do not have the answer, but our goal "to develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society" seems worth taking bold measures.

—William G. Gillespie
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir:

It has been brought to my attention that an article entitled "A Basic Right," by Frederick Curtis Fowler, which argues the cause of voluntary unionism, was denied publication in your pamphlet SOCIAL PROGRESS. I realize that a recent issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS was devoted entirely to arguments opposing right-to-work laws. Such was entirely within your rights. However, since the ultimate truth has not been determined, I feel you are under obligation to truth itself to present arguments also devoted to the cause of right-to-work laws. Certainly I recognize that the General Assembly has taken an official stand on this entire matter. However, this does not close the issue nor has the last word been heard.

—Lloyd E. Shaw
Clay Center, Kans.

Editor's Note:

The above is one of seven letters we have received asking why we apparently rejected the Fowler article. Several months ago Dr. Frederick Fowler, of the First Presbyterian Church of Duluth, Minnesota, submitted to SOCIAL PROGRESS *a manuscript, "A Basic Right," which strongly argued the case of right-to-work legislation and criticized General Assembly actions dealing with collective bargaining and union membership agreements. We were unable to use the article at that time, and the manuscript was returned to Dr. Fowler. Subsequently, the article was published as a pamphlet and widely distributed among the ministers of our church.*

Let us point out that we already have discussed the pros and cons of right-to-work legislation. This was done in March, 1957, in a very able article by Dr. Marshal Scott, who is well known in our church and beyond for his open and fair interpretations of developments and issues in labor-management relations.

We seek to present in SOCIAL PROGRESS *background material on a large number of subjects—the whole range covered by General Assembly pronouncements over the years. In eight issues a year we can take up very few of these problems—the others must wait their turn. We had devoted an entire issue of our magazine to labor problems in early 1959. Our publication and editorial schedule would not have permitted the use of Dr. Fowler's article for many months to come.*

It was clear to us that Dr. Fowler's manuscript was such a completely one-sided statement of the case that if we were to use it we would be obliged to publish a companion piece presenting the other side of the argument. It is not true that SOCIAL PROGRESS *devoted an entire issue to*

arguments opposing right-to-work legislation. The February, 1959, issue featured four related articles on organized labor. There were only brief references to right-to-work laws.

We receive many unsolicited manuscripts, very few of which we can consider for possible use. Nearly all of them are returned to the writers with our regrets. In the meantime we recognize our continuing obligation to provide the church with dependable interpretations of urgent issues in a great many fields of social concern.

Dear Sir:

I thought the commentary on the deliverances in the July SOCIAL PROGRESS was exceptionally helpful.

On page 22 of the July issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, under "The Calling of Ministers," it was stated that as far as your department knows, there are only three instances in our denomination of a pastor's being called to serve a congregation of a different race from his own. Among the three, you included an Oriental who was called to be a pastor of a Caucasian church in Idaho. I submit to you that according to my knowledge (and I could be wrong) there are four more Asiatics serving white congregations in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; in Towaoc Ute Mountain, Colorado; in Edna, West Virginia; and in Prairie Du Sac, Wisconsin.

I know it is difficult to gather such information as this except through personal contact. It would make an informative study.

—Daniel Ogata
Clinton, Iowa

Dear Sir:

Let me add one more appreciation of the "Press" issue [March, 1960] to the piles you must have received already. As usual, I marked up the whole issue, but especially that middle page full of figures! Reading your cautious, meaty, suggestive survey—and the appendixes on either side—quickly moved my nod of approval to a nod of determination. Something has to be done, and you have sensibly suggested things that are in everybody's reach. I am turning toward my first full-time teaching-ministry in the fall of 1961 with SOCIAL PROGRESS on my desk.

If relatives of servicemen abroad realized how shriveled and superficial a picture of world events they are getting through service newspapers, they would send them subscriptions to *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, or *The Christian Science Monitor*, pronto. The front page of the *Stars and Stripes* is still partly dedicated to first-class news; but much of the rest is ephemeral prattle. Yet, compared to *The Overseas Family*, published in Frankfurt with apparently wide circulation (a salesman friend of mine gets it), it stands on the heights of modern journalism. Its recent front-page headline (July 22, 1960): "U.S. Wives in Turkey Face Abuses." Columnist: Drew Pearson. Total news on international relations, UN, politics, Washington, etc.: Drew Pearson (on Russian oil in Cuba). Accidents, crime, so-called human interest: over 30 pages out of 36, a kind estimate.

—Terrence N. Tice
Birsfelden, B.L., Switzerland

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